

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presumably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only negative in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,²² basing his statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other tribes and other white settlers. Rengger²³ states that at the time of his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

²² Gay, Cónego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.

²³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

175 Koenigswald,²⁷ emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
• 722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
182 way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were
afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the
Mbaya.

177 It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
241 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of
648 enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
182 given residence for another.²⁸ The coming of the whites and the
[657] stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far
as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá,
but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.²⁹ This served to remove
at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

177 A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
241 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible
412 by the tools which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
182 which they have come to depend so completely today. It is difficult
to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facaõ*
or *machete*.³⁰ This tool is used to fell trees — even reasonably large
ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant.
It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and
could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

²⁷ *Op. cit.*

²⁸ The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

²⁹ E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

³⁰ *Facaõ* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.